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HUMAN EVENTS

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Kennedy's Farm Program

A Trap for Both Farmers and Consumers

An Interview with Frank K. Woolley, Authority on Farm Economics

Senator Kennedy has promised, if he is elected, to inaugurate a new program which will guarantee all farmers a governmentally determined income. The Senator wants farmers to believe their incomes will be substantially increased by his plan.

The American people would like to know the answers to all the questions Kennedy evades. What will be the cost in additional taxes or in higher food bills? What will happen to the farmers' freedom? Will the benefits go in the long run only to landowners—as in tobacco where land with a license to grow tobacco is worth $2,000 an acre whereas, without the license, that land is worth only $100 an acre.

Claiming to be helping the poor—the "have-nots"—does Kennedy wish to do the same to all other farming areas?

HUMAN EVENTS has put the questions you would like to ask about the Kennedy Farm Program to an outstanding farm authority, Frank K. Woolley. Mr. Woolley entered the Department of Agriculture in 1933. He was an advisor to Secretaries of Agriculture Henry Wallace, Claude Wickard, Clinton Anderson, and Charles Brannan. He became Vice President of the Commodity Credit Corporation and Deputy Administrator of the Agency in charge of the Farm program. He left the Department in 1951, in protest against the farm program advocated by Secretary Brannan. He then became legislative counsel for the American Farm Bureau Federation, specializing on farm legislation. One year ago, he became Associate Director of the Americans for Constitutional Action, in which capacity he studies all legislation including that affecting agriculture.

Q. Briefly, Mr. Woolley, what is the Kennedy plan?

A. The plan provides for: a governmentally determined income of all farmers. This is to be brought about by (1) forcing farmers to sharply reduce supplies available for sale through stores and markets, and (2) fixing higher farm and food prices.

Q. Did Mr. Kennedy make it that clear in his speeches?

A. Yes. He simply used broad language of a technical nature which has grown up during the last 30 years around Federal programs of intervention in farm production and food and fiber marketing. He described his plan in these words:

> "First, we pledge ourselves to securing full parity of income for the American farmer.
>
> "I mean a clear, easily-defined concept which can be mathematically ascertained and computed. Parity of income is that income which gives average producers a return on their invested capital, labor and management equal to that which similar, or comparable, resources earn in non-farm employment.
>
> "Parity of income prices under this definition can be calculated by the US Department of Agriculture without difficulty.
>
> "Secondly, we intend to assure this parity of income for the farmer primarily through supply management—the adjustment of supply to demand at parity income prices.
>
> "A basic instrument of assuring parity of income will be supply management controls."

He apparently has in mind some features of the tobacco program, since from Lexington, Kentucky he is reported to have said that "it is my hope to put all farmers on the same footing with tobacco producers."

Obviously Senator Kennedy is not well informed about the tobacco program. Under it a farmer can sell all he produces on the government allotted acreage which is the opposite of the Senator's description of his program. Tobacco farmers have so strongly opposed additional price increases such as the Senator advocates that they have pushed through legislation prohibiting such price increases. They recognized that they were having tobacco priced out of world markets and were being forced to unprofitably cut acreage.

Control over tobacco marketing on a poundage basis was tried in 1938—failed and was promptly abandoned.

Q. How would the Kennedy farm program work?

A. A person must study many documents and statements by Mr. Kennedy's advisors, the Democratic platform, and Mr. Kennedy to get the outlines of the operating procedures. Only the broad policies have been made public by Mr. Kennedy. It is clear from these documents, however, that a Federal bureau operating locally would establish what the total income for average farmers in the government's judgment should be for every commodity in every type of farming area. The formula used by the Federal Government would involve:

1. Establishing the total investment for average individual farms (land, buildings, equipment, etc.).

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2. Fixing what the government will decide is a "fair" rate of return on the farmers' investment.

3. It would then figure what he should have for his labor.

4. Setting the amount the farmer should get for his management.

5. Next the Federal Government would add these individual incomes together to obtain a national total income for each commodity.

6. The next step involves forcing prices to consumers *up* by cutting *down* on supplies so that the resulting price would give farmers the income planned for them.

Q. How would this work as applied to farmers?

A. Each governmentally approved farmer may be issued a license (referred to as a "franchise" by Kennedy's advisors) by the Federal Government which would specify the amount of each commodity by "barrels, bushels or bales" that the farmer would be allowed to sell.

Q. Would farmers have to have a license to buy feed from another farmer to produce hogs, chickens and cattle?

A. Yes. Dr. Willard Cochrane, Professor at the University of Minnesota, one of the devisors of the plan, indicates that some method of policing is needed. The amount of feed would be figured in an extremely complicated manner by controlling the feed nutrients allowable. He would do this to force the price of meat to consumers up to the governmentally fixed level. Here is what Dr. Cochrane says:

> "First, a total national feed quota, measured in T.D.N.'s [NOTE:—T.D.N. equals Total Digestive Nutrients, and includes calories, amino acids, vitamins, etc., in feeds for livestock] would be established; this quota would be set in over-all amount so that the livestock products produced out of that feed supply would sell at prices that averaged the predetermined fair-price. Second, each producer of feed grain would receive a T.D.N. quota which was equal to his proportionate share of total T.D.N. production in the previous three years. Third, the farmer could convert his T.D.N. quota into bushels of any feed grain of his choice by standard conversion rates. Bushels then would be converted into acres by local conversion rates. Thus, the national T.D.N. quota is first attached by farms and second translated into acres at the farm level. And acres can be policed, where bushels of feed grains, which do not pass through markets, cannot."

When asked whether the feed grain control program was a quota or an acreage control program, Dr. Cochrane replied:

> "It is really a quota program—beginning as in the case of a single commodity with the quantity that the market will take at a defined fair price. But since most feed grains don't move through the market, hence cannot be policed in terms of bushelage quotas, we convert the T.D.N. quota into acres at the farm level to effect compliance. And we convert all feed grains into the common denominator of T.D.N.'s to permit us to treat feed grains as one commodity."

Q. Isn't Mr. Kennedy's program very strict?

A. It is by far the most severe and drastic control program ever seriously proposed to the public for any segment of the American economy. Former Democratic Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace, on October 5, 1960, said the proposal of Senator J. F. Kennedy might require "stricter controls than they have in most Communist countries."

Q. Senator Kennedy mentioned a wheat certificate plan. What would that do?

A. The Kennedy wheat certificate plan subscribed to by only a small but well-financed group of wheat growers would result in dumping surpluses of wheat on the markets of feed grain growers. As a result of continuing excessively high price supports, wheat is now more out of balance than any other crop. The act of dumping this surplus on other growers who have taken a more modest price support would create havoc among livestock, poultry and dairy farmers. Since these farmers would have no vote in a wheat referendum, they might be forced to accept a drastic control program. While this would delight the controllers, it would be unjust and unfair to a large segment of agriculture which is now free.

Q. Would meat supplies be cut much?

A. To force prices up to the level Senator Kennedy proposes would require cutting supplies below the quantity available per person during the rationing days of World War II. Remember the black markets, OPA and slaughter quotas.

Q. How soon would this government program end?

A. Never. It is devised as a permanent government system of strict dictation and monopoly control of food and fiber supplies, prices and uses. This is called "Supply Management." Professor Cochrane says, "This is no temporary thing. Also there is no golden level to which agriculture can return."

Q. What do you believe would be the cost of the Democratic Farm Program?

A. This is difficult to estimate. Since all present programs are to be kept or expanded, it is clear this program will be in addition to these costs. These programs are now costing annually over $6 billion of Federal funds. Kennedy says that his total for "Agriculture" will be less, but part of his reduction will be accomplished apparently by charging certain costs to other than the agricultural budget. "If," says Senator Kennedy, "the cost of using surplus food to feed needy people at home and abroad is not charged to the Agriculture Department budget, the saving in that budget would be closer to $2 billion a year." What Kennedy ignores is that it will all have to come out of the total tax-take, regardless.

Experts in the Department of Agriculture have estimated that consumer food prices would be 25% higher—Kennedy says they would only increase 10 to 15%. Other experts calculate that the total cost would be around $24 billion more annually than the present program, including $12 billion more of direct Federal subsidy. This allows a credit of $2½ billion a year for a reduced storage program. An official government report issued in 1957 by the Senate pursuant to an act of Congress carried the estimate of government experts that such a plan as Mr. Kennedy's "Supply Management Program" as now presented would have cost $18 billion in 1956. So far as we can determine, all calculations are readily avail-

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able except Mr. Kennedy's. I urge him to release them. I believe all these figures are low when *all* costs are included.

Q. Wouldn't any of the existing farm programs be eliminated?

A. No, not on the basis of Mr. Kennedy's statements and those of his advisors as well as the pledges made in the Democratic platform. For instance, they say:

(1) we must use our excess productive capacity to feed the hungry and undernourished here at home—through a full-scale school lunch program, a food stamp plan and direct food distribution to welfare agencies and institutions, and increased gifts abroad.

(2) a commodity storage program will be required.

(3) supplemental income payments to farmers is planned.

(4) a soil conservation program is to be continued.

(5) agricultural credit is to be expanded to farmers at subsidized interest rates to modernize and expand production facilities.

(6) an expanded government research and extension program.

(7) an expanded co-op program.

(8) an expanded REA program.

(9) an expanded marketing services program.

(10) a land retirement program.

In addition to enlarging most of the existing programs, the present rural development program for low production farmers is to be stepped up by greatly increased government intervention.

Q. Will the plan work?

A. A dictatorial plan, heavily baited with subsidies, centrally administered (with deceptive appearances of local management) having the full police power and resources of the Federal government behind it might work for a short time. But the American people ought to consider the consequences or results of such a scheme.

Q. What would be the results of such a plan?

A. The plan strikes at the very heart and principles of the American system of freedom and opportunity. It is morally indefensible.

Q. How does it violate these essential principles?

A. *First,* with respect to farmers, the scheme would result in permanent government dictation to them and licensing of the right to produce. *Second,* it would make all farmers dependent upon politics for their income. Today as a carryover of programs started in the 1930's, only three major crops are under quotas by government: tobacco, cotton and wheat (and two minor crops, rice and peanuts). These crops account for less than 20% of the farmers' income. Eighty per cent of American agriculture involving livestock, poultry, feed grains, soybeans and many other commodities are free. And the equity of farmers in land, buildings and equipment is the highest in history. *Third,* it would be destructive of opportunity and penalize ambition. For instance, young people or a new farmer would be forced to buy the "right to produce" from an existing farmer. It would level all farmers down to a politically determined mediocrity.

As to consumers, they would be forced, (1) to pay higher prices, (2) to pay higher taxes, and (3) to do without the free choice of abundant food and fiber supplies.

Q. What would it do to the basic guarantee in the Constitution against the government taking private property without just compensation?

A. It would destroy that right. All control programs deprive a person of the right to the beneficial use of his own property. It would forcibly lessen the flow of food and fiber through the private marketing system and increase the flow of goods through government distribution schemes. This is a deliberate taking (without compensation) of a person's business. It would raise farmers' costs and lower their efficiency.

It provides a model for socializing other industry contrary to the intent of the Constitution.

Q. What would it do to local self government which is guaranteed by the Constitution?

A. It would greatly accelerate the usurpation of power by the central government. The framers of the Constitution never intended that farming be controlled by the unlimited power of a central government. It is officially estimated that 50,000 additional Federal government employees would be needed to police the "supply management" part of the program. The Constitution has not been amended to grant such power to the Federal government. However, FDR's Supreme Court ruled that the Federal government can control anything it subsidizes. (*Wickard vs. Filburn.*)

Q. What would it do to the free choice competitive market system?

A. It would substantially destroy it by depriving producers of the choice to produce and sell what they want. Likewise, it would restrict buyers from freely buying what they choose from willing sellers. It would replace present private channels of distribution which compete for consumer favor with government agencies and federally controlled handlers who would forget the public and compete for political favor. It grants government monopoly power over food and fiber contrary to sound principles and justice.

Q. What would it do to sound money and inflation?

A. The Kennedy plan would be highly inflationary by reducing supplies and increasing prices. Added to that, the increased expenditure of government billions would burden an already badly distorted budget. How such government intervention to shrink production artificially can be reconciled with the goal of helping the economy to grow is far from clear. It would add thousands of employees to the Federal payroll whose function would be to reduce instead of increase production. Government programs to use more and more people to produce less and less improve Russia's chances of catching up with the United States.

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Q. You have referred to Mr. Kennedy's farm advisors. In addition to Professor Cochrane, who are they?

A. The more active are:

1. John A. Baker, staff employee for the Farmers Union which has consistently since 1939 worked to replace our free-choice economic and political system with less successful European systems based on coercion of individuals by government. He was influential in "polishing up" and advocating the Brannan Plan. (See Brannan below)

2. J. Kenneth Galbraith, Harvard Economics professor, who contends that farmers, laborers and the general public have too much to spend privately and the central government by force of taxation should reduce private spending and increase government spending.

3. Claude R. Wickard, Democratic Secretary of Agriculture from 1940 to 1945.

4. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Harvard Political Science professor, author of a memo, "The Shape of National Politics to Come," sent to left-wing Senators urging intervention into the private lives of individuals by reviving "a new sense of overriding public interest."

5. Charles F. Brannan, Democratic Secretary of Agriculture (1948-1952), now an attorney for the Farmers Union. Best known for the so-called Brannan Plan. That plan has been vigorously advocated by Farm Research Inc., cited as a Communist-front organization.*

Communist Party USA in "Political Affairs" has strongly advocated the Brannan Plan.

6. James Patton, President of the Farmers Union. He is a long-time foe of the free choice competitive economic system of the United States, and since 1940 has been working with Walter Reuther for a farmer-labor alliance to destroy the profit system. On March 3, 1960, a Patton statement was carried in the *Minneapolis Tribune,* entitled "Farmers Union Head Urges US Licensing of Farmers."

7. Robert G. Lewis—Recent advisor to Wisconsin Governor Nelson (Democrat), Past editor of the Farmers Union weekly and monthly official publications which last year were pushing a "Brannan Plan" for Wisconsin agriculture.

8. Wesley McCune—Former Executive Assistant to Brannan at the time of the Brannan Plan. Present Editor of Farmers Union publications whose books have been enthusiastically recommended by Farm Research Inc., the Communist front mentioned before.

9. George E. Brandow, Professor of Economics, Pennsylvania State University.

10. Robert L. Clodius, Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin, advocate of treating agriculture as a Public Utility.

11. Harlow W. Halvorson, Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin.

It is not surprising to find these people as advisors in view of the fact that Harvard-trained Kennedy obtained part of his education under Harold J. Laski, a Fabian Socialist, in the London School of Economics, founded by the Fabian Socialists.

Q. Is this a new plan?

A. No. The idea of centralized tyrannical force as a means of "doing good for people" is as old as time itself. But the scheme doesn't seem to die. On October 5, 1960, Henry Wallace said Senator Kennedy's income-parity plan was similar to a proposal made in 1933 by several mid-western governors. They urged a law pledging "cost of production prices" to farmers.

"Their measure of cost of production was the same as in the proposal by Senator Kennedy," Mr. Wallace said. "Applying this formula would have obtained prices so high that neither I nor President Roosevelt saw any possibility of attaining them unless we licensed every farm, every field and every handler of farm products."

Q. How would you summarize the essence of this program?

A. By quoting Professor Cochrane. In the Journal of Farm Economics, November, 1959, Professor Cochrane credited John A. Baker, George E. Brandow and others for helping him. He said:

> "By supply control I mean the conscious adjustment of supply to demand commodity by commodity, year after year, to yield prices in the market that have already been determined as fair by some responsible agency. And I have reference to a permanent set of institutional controls to deal with a chronic condition of overproduction in agriculture.
>
> "Further, since every commodity of any importance in agriculture is produced by many hundred to many thousand producers, it follows that a specific aggregate adjustment can only be achieved by consistent adjustments on each of these many farms. Finally, since unanimous agreement in any collective action is virtually impossible, it also follows that the will of the majority must be imposed upon the minority in any effective supply control process in agriculture."

Q. What do you conclude from all this?

A. Boiled down, this means farmers and consumers are in for a rude surprise if such a program is enacted into law.

An electorate which ignores this danger by electing Congressmen and Senators agreeable to such a monstrous scheme does so at its peril.

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*Special committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 50 and 147; Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.

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--- COMMENTARY

Thrift, sacrifice, sweat and self-discipline are tight-fisted virtues. Credit restraint is an instrument of old-fashioned discipline. These values are not pleasant or popular. We want to live now and face the consequences later. We want our economics made easy. What we can get is another matter. —DR. GABRIEL HAUGE, Former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers

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Vol. XVII, No. 42 — Section IV

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GOP's Futile Quest For Labor's Votes

By Victor Riesel

Oct. 6—Three national Republican leaders telephoned and telegraphed Ladies Garment Union President David Dubinsky. They were on as futile a quest as convincing Governor Faubus and Lena Horne to cha-cha together. But the GOP chiefs did try to get Dubinsky to come on down to the garment center last Wednesday noon to greet Richard Nixon "non-partisanly."

Republican invitations to Dubinsky to join the Vice President's sortie into the famed Seventh Avenue dress-making "jungle" came during the ebullient union chief's planning for a garment center rally of his own. There will be nothing non-partisan about the monster meeting.

It will be in the tradition of Dubinsky's predilection for making history. For at noon time on October 27, the leader of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union will bring over a quarter of a million people onto the very same street where Dick Nixon talked to 20,000.

This will be the ultimate in labor's political action. This will be the essence of labor's political campaigning. For on the platform with the labor chiefs and Senator Kennedy and Mrs. Roosevelt will be one other—unseen by the eyes, but grasped again by the minds of the hundreds of thousands. This will be the spirit of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

That will be the imagery of the largest single political rally of the campaign. That will be the imagery of another mass demonstration for Kennedy later that day. At four p.m. Jack Potofsky, successor to the office and the cloak of Sidney Hillman, will lead 100,000 members of his men's Clothing Workers Union in a meeting expected to jam Union Square.

Because such men as Dubinsky see this campaign as the drive for another Rooseveltian era for American unions, they have hit the hustings with all they have. Typical is the militant action of the International Ladies Garment Workers, operating not through the Democratic Party, but through the ILGWU's Campaign Committee. Its sophistication in political action makes the old-time ward captains look like bi-planes alongside Boeing jets.

New York State may be the balance in this tight election. Should Jack Kennedy take the state, it will have been, I believe, this union's political action which swung it for him. Whether it's setting the stage for the man from Boston or helping Lyndon B. Johnson invade Brooklyn on the Day Dick Nixon rode into Manhattan, the Campaign Committee is skillfully handling the props.

BETTER CHECK THE GAS BEFORE YOU START

On the day, for example, that Dubinsky received a telegram from one of Dick Nixon's highly placed colleagues, "DD" was checking final plans for a series of national broadcasts over 250 radio stations. There are to be eight in all. Each costs $10,000.

The series started with Adlai Stevenson surrounded by some glamor. That was the night of Wednesday, October 5. The schedule calls for George Meany on the evening of October 12; Mrs. Roosevelt on the 19th; Senator Johnson on the 26th, and Jack Kennedy on November 2.

There will be three other 15-minute programs—"The Role of the Liberals in This Campaign," "Religion in the Campaign" and a third probably pivoting on Carl Sandburg and the Lincoln saga.

There are plans, too, for televising the October 27 garment rally. Dubinsky and his colleagues want all New York State to see it "live."

They would do more, if there were more to be done. They've hit the streets and the airways and the tens of thousands of doors of the nation's precincts. But Tuesday night at a private dinner in the Capri Restaurant, the leaders of labor got their greatest accolade. Dubinsky, the Hatters' Alex Rose, Walter Reuther, Arthur Goldberg, Roy Reuther and some others were told by the hardest working Kennedy of all—Robert—there is little more that any campaign manager could want.

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'Sacrificing' For Integrity

From the Duluth Publicity

Under an old law, passed when government bond interest rates were much lower than they are now, Rural Electrification Cooperatives can borrow money from the government at two per cent. But, for some time, the government has had to pay about four per cent for its borrowed money.

Astonishing Statement

The co-op loans are repayable on fixed dates. Many of the co-ops, however, have been making advance payments, ahead of the dates. This caused a spokesman for the movement to make an astonishing statement.

He pointed out, in effect, that the co-ops didn't have to make payments in advance, and that they could instead legally invest the money in government bonds paying four per cent. Then he patted the co-ops on the back for refraining from doing this, on the grounds that they are thus showing self-sacrificing patriotism of a high order.

No Praise Is Due

Others may take a different view of the matter. They may feel, for instance, that no praise is due—that simple integrity, no matter what the legalities involved should prevent co-ops from, in effect, using government money borrowed at two per cent to buy government bonds paying a higher return. And they may even feel that the pat-on-the-back should be deferred until such time as the co-ops themselves suggest that their interest rate be raised to the point where it will equal what the government must pay.

Voting Records

SENATE VOTING RECORDS FOR 1959. How every Senator voted on each of the 215 vote roll calls. ONE DOLLAR

SENATE VOTING RECORDS FOR 1960. How every Senator voted on each of the 207 vote roll calls. ONE DOLLAR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VOTING RECORDS FOR 1959. How every Representative voted on each of the 87 vote roll calls. ONE DOLLAR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VOTING RECORDS FOR 1960. How every Representative voted on each of the 84 vote roll calls that directly affected legislation (nine dilatory votes omitted). ONE DOLLAR

Vote roll calls are arranged by categories, such as Appropriations, Civil Rights, Education, Foreign Aid, Housing, etc. Names of Senators and Members of the House are listed alphabetically by geographical regions and parties.

HOW DID SENATORS KENNEDY AND JOHNSON VOTE? HOW DID THE CHAIRMEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEES VOTE? The answers will be found in the Senate Voting Records.

Svend Petersen, 9 Pine Avenue, Takoma Park 12, Maryland.

Kennedy Buys Phony Facts On Soviet Power Potential

By Raymond Moley

In his prepared statement in the first debate, Senator Kennedy said: "At the present rate of hydro power development —and that is the hallmark of an industrialized society—the Soviet Union by 1975 will be producing more power than we are."

This is not only inaccurate but also a very tricky statement.

Nixon challenged it in Schenectady, but Kennedy then repeated it, saying it came from "a Senate committee report."

Kennedy is either persisting in his inaccuracy or is misguided. Here are the facts:

Except for a very few industries, electric power is not an important element in manufacturing costs. It is not "the hallmark" of an industrialized society.

Kennedy Predicts

Kennedy's sentence begins with a comparison of hydro power but ends with the flat assertion that in 1975 the Soviet Union will be producing more power than the United States. That would mean all electric power—hydro, steam, and nuclear. Even the committee report cited by Kennedy made no such claim, although it was frankly partisan. As to the relative proportions of power produced by steam and hydro, it agreed with the exhaustive study of the Edison Electric Institute.

The cited report was made by a Senate subcommittee composed of three Democrats—Moss of Utah, Gruening of Alaska, and Muskie of Maine. They conducted a grand junket to the Soviet Union, and on their return prepared the report (Committee Print, January 4, 1960). There was also a motion picture film with Moss as narrator.

USSR Plans Reduction

In both Russia and the United States, about 81 per cent of all electric power is derived from steam produced by coal, only 19 per cent from hydro power. The Soviet Union plans to lower its hydro power to 15 per cent, raising steam to 85 per cent. This is because with the present efficiency of steam the Russians can add to that, rather than bear the great expense of building dams in remote places, with transmission lines to carry power to localities where it can be used.

In round figures, Russia had a productive capacity at the end of 1958 of 53 million kilowatts; the United States, 160 million. By 1965 the Russians will have 108 million kilowatts; the United States, 245 million. Projecting the comparisons into the 1970's, the lead of the United States will be relatively the same as in 1965.

But by the 1970's, atomic power will be comparable in cost to steam, and in both the United States and Russia hydro power will fall into relative insignificance. The United States, however, is already far ahead of the Russians in developing atomic power, and construction under way and planned will keep it ahead indefinitely.

The Senate subcommittee was accompanied on its trip by representatives of certain organizations dedicated to the promotion of government hydro power projects. Apparently, one of the purposes of this expensive propaganda was to promote the authorization by Congress of Rampart Dam on the Yukon River in Alaska. Hence, Senator Gruening was prominently displayed in the movie, and there were shots of the massive and lonely Yukon.

Why Waste Power?

That project, which might be on the agenda of the Kennedy "New Frontier," would, if built, generate twice the power of Grand Coulee and top anything in Russia. But what would be done with a kilowatt capacity which would supply 7,000,000 people in a state with 167,000? The claim is that it would attract industry. But it has been shown over and over that, except for aluminum, power cost is a minor consideration in attracting industry. And, of course, industry must be attracted from somewhere if it is to to settle in Alaska.

Meanwhile, the development of cheaper methods of making electricity from the atom is moving fast.

Soaking the Rich

By Congressman N. M. Mason

The total number of taxpayers in tax brackets under the $20,000 income bracket is 43,697,608. They pay total taxes amounting to $22,889,000,000—80 per cent of all personal income taxes collected.

The total number of taxpayers in tax brackets over the $20,000 income bracket is 490,774. They pay total taxes amounting to $6,374,000,000—20 per cent of all personal income taxes collected.

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Why Jack Wants To Be President

By Westbrook Pegler

Kennedy has no philosophy or program in his heart. He just wants the power of the Presidency for a good deal the same reason that F. D. Roosevelt wanted it. They both were rich, petulant and spoiled by adoring family women and they had no belly for the rough-and-tumble of masculine society. Roosevelt went around fluting melodious head-sounds against extravagance and promising strict economy, but his only economy was to reduce the salaries of many officers who couldn't do anything about it. Then came the wildest extravagance in all history.

Kennedy's theme-song is scored for gas-pipe, wash-board, Bongo and Dakota whistle. It doesn't mean anything so it means everything and Nixon could tear him to tatters analyzing this gibberish. If Nixon has any belly for this fight he could say, "Well, who rescued Soviet Russia from Hitler and Japan and who smothered Stalin with railroad trains, diesels, synthetic rubber factories and tire plants, and who gave Stalin the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Balkans and the islands north of Japan? Wasn't it your God-Man, Roosevelt?"

But Nixon won't even jab.

It wasn't Castro, was it, who deported millions of men and women, the relatives of millions of our own Americans, from their native countries in Eastern Europe to the mysterious wilderness of Russia's terra incognita in the Arctic Circle?

And this was done by the fawning permission of Roosevelt and Truman. Wasn't it?

Why doesn't Nixon haul off on the subject of Jack's friends in the union rackets? What has Nixon got to lose? The rank and file would vote for anybody with the courage to fight for them.

How else did Goldwater become the greatest individual political leader in the country?

Where Does the Money Come From?

From the Indianapolis Star

Senator John Kennedy insists that any medical care for the aged program should be put under Social Security because the Republican plan would cost $1,200,000,000 in Federal and state funds. All right now, Jack where does the money that goes into Social Security come from?

When you answer that question, the lesson in financial affairs will proceed.

Johnny-Come-Lately Democrats Blast Castro's Rise to Power

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

The record of the Democratic Party on the whole Cuban issue is clear. Senator Kennedy's office admits that the Senator never once warned of the Communist danger in Cuba, of Fidel Castro's Red inclinations.

Kennedy, in fact, blasted the GOP Administration for backing "so long" the pro-American, anti-Communist strongman Fulgencio Batista. And he criticized the Administration for not laying out the red carpet for Castro when the Cuban leader came to the United States last spring.

He compared the Cuban Revolution to the American Revolution, calling Fidel Castro "part of the legacy of Simon Bolivar," the great Latin patriot.

Johnson Was Silent

Vice Presidential candidate Johnson never displayed an awareness of the Cuban situation until this campaign. He had no disagreement with such Democratic leaders as Harry Truman, who, seven months after Castro took over, wrote:

"I think that Fidel Castro is a good young man, who has made mistakes, but who means to do the right thing for the Cuban people, and we ought to extend our sympathy and help him do what is right for them."

The Democratic charge that "Republican policymakers" were responsible for the rise of Castro is hardly factual. Ambassadors Arthur Gardner and Earl T. Smith, both Eisenhower appointees, regularly wrote reports back to Washington of Castro's Marxist leanings.

Gardner, who was Ambassador during the entire revolution, told his superiors that Castro was an ideological Marxist, if not a card-carrying Communist. He warned of the known Communists in his movement, urged support for pro-Western Batista.

Warnings Ignored

The reports were ignored by the State Department policymakers, who seemed intent on putting Castro in power. Major responsibility for the fall of Cuba was laid with Assistant Secretary of State Roy Rubottom and Caribbean desk chief William Wieland. Both were holdovers from the Truman Administration. Rubottom, a banker, entered the foreign service in 1947 and was sent to Bogota, Colombia. Two years later he was put in charge of Mexican affairs, and in 1952 the Acheson State Department gave him a "Superior Service Award."

Wieland entered the Foreign Service under FDR in 1941, and served during the New and Fair Deals in Rio, Bogota, and San Salvador.

Rubottom Removed

It should be noted that Democratic appointee Rubottom has been moved out of his policy-making position. He now resides in comparative obscurity as Ambassador to Argentina. Wieland no longer carries much weight in State circles.

Democratic nominee Kennedy promises that if elected he will go back to Franklin Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor Policy." What Kennedy apparently does not realize is that support of pro-American dictators was a cardinal tenet of the so-called "Good Neighbor" policy. FDR said on more than one occasion that the US needed more of "our dictators" on its side. Hence his support of Dominican Republic dictator Rafael Trujillo. Roosevelt assured Trujillo that the "magnificent help" of the government and people of the Dominican Republic during World War II "will never be forgotten by the people of the United States."

Humphrey Reverses on Test Ban

From the New York Daily News

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.) has been one of the eagerest beavers in the drive for a US-Soviet treaty banning nuclear weapon tests forever and a day.

Now, to the surprise of many, Senator Humphrey has reversed himself in part. Unless a test-ban agreement is reached by next June, he says, the United States should resume testing.

We'd like to see the US resume testing tomorrow, or today if possible. That seems too much to hope for. But it does seem reasonable to hope that Senator Humphrey's partial aboutface may help to convince a lot of influential Americans —Messrs. Eisenhower, Nixon and Kennedy among them—that the 23-month-old test suspension is a perilous gamble with national survival, and should be called off in a hurry.

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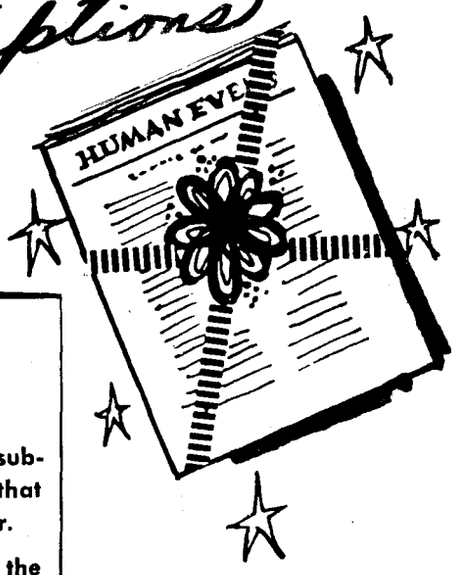

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Human Events
THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 42 October 20, 1960 Section I — News

ECONOMY: *Vitally affected by the election* (497)

QUEMOY QUESTION: *Kennedy's Waterloo?* (497)

FOREIGN POLICY: *Is Dick calling signals?* (498)

WORLD COURT: *Nixon revises stand* ..... (498)

HOLLYWOOD: *Red scribes scramble back* .... (500)

Changing Horses Amidstream: In financial and investment circles, a variant to the warning of GOP politicos is now in circulation. It is: don't change the makeup of the US Treasury in the middle of one of the most dangerous monetary situations ever faced by America. With gold flowing out of a diminished Fort Knox hoard, this is no time to hand over the reins of our financial management to a bunch of socialistic professors who believe that a certain amount of inflation is a good thing.

Specifically, here are the alternatives: If Nixon wins, Secretary of the Treasury Anderson will stay on—according to those who know the VP's intentions. The wealth of know-how Anderson possesses has guided our financial policy soundly and with a strong hand in the past few years. Additionally, it is assumed that Undersecretary Julian Baird, whose skilled management of the national debt has earned him the confidence of the financial community, will also stay on.

On the other hand, if Kennedy wins, his financial mentor will likely be selected from the Senator's well-known New Deal trio of economic advisers—John Kenneth Galbraith, Seymour Harris and Archibald Cox. The far left ideas of these men suggest what we might be in for—especially in view of the very complacent ideas about an unbalanced budget entertained by Kennedy, who—it is recalled—studied in the London School of Economics, mother home of Fabian Socialism.

As a matter of fact, the threat (of a Kennedy takeover) to investor confidence is a matter of no little anxious discussion on Capitol Hill, not to mention Wall Street.

Reports from the financial sector of New York indicate that a number of American investors—suddenly aware that Kennedy might win—talk of moving at least significant parts of their capital to Canada or West Germany or Switzerland. This is as of today, and some of these investors may be considering only hedging their bets by sending small amounts abroad.

But what if skittish capital becomes panicky on November 9th? No serious observers would discount a flight of capital and the ensuing chaotic conditions which might stretch from November 9 to January 20 when Kennedy would be inaugurated. And then? According to promises of Kennedy brain-trusters, then would follow another "100 days," like the famous revolutionary Hundred Days of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, when the basis was layed for the New Deal and the subsequent seven-year depression.

Changing financial horses in midstream once proved a very painful process, as those who experienced the shift from Hoover's to FDR's Administration well know. In today's financial structure, another such shift might well invite disaster. For in 1933, the central banks of Europe did not stand guard over our economy as they do today, nor did they have the power for good or evil as in 1960.

Today, the prime consideration of the foreign banking interests about our economic picture is whether we maintain a balanced budget—a situation which Nixon takes seriously, Kennedy very lightly. Withdrawal of gold from our shores by these foreign banking centers because of an elected Administration hankering for massive spending and deficit financing is not a prospect to take lightly.

Nixon's Breakthrough: The verdict of Capitol Hill on the third debate is "Nixon ahead by at least three lengths." The VP acquired a big lead by his seizure of the anti-appeasement side of the Quemoy-Matsu controversy.

Few disagree that Kennedy's Quemoy-Matsu "sell-out" remarks on the second TV debate, on the heels of his U-2 "apology" statement last spring, have compounded the Democratic candidate's appeasement image for the duration of the Presidential campaign.

The opposition's Quemoy-Matsu stand was seen as ample opportunity for Nixon to launch a valid "soft on Reds" accusation. Nixon's image as a clear-eyed anti-Communist has consequently been sharpened in contrast to Kennedy's—"the voice of Kennedy is the voice of Adlai."

Now, most observers feel, Kennedy has gotten himself into a dangerous foreign policy pickle. For, it is reasoned, although the Stevenson Democrats are delighted with this Kennedy stance and will enthusiastically back him down to the wire, he may have cost himself countless Catholic and staunchly anti-Communist Democratic votes. It is recalled that such voters turned against Stevenson in 1956 because of his nuclear test ban stand.

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A strong indicator that Kennedy may be in just such trouble came last week when Ohio Democratic Senator Frank Lausche, who belatedly backed Jack's candidacy, announced in Cleveland that he sided with Nixon on the Quemoy-Matsu question.

In last week's debate, Kennedy cheated by using notes, but the content of "notes" got jeers, not cheers on Capitol Hill. Big boo-boo—he cited Admiral Yarnall, aged 85, never prominent in Navy and out of picture for 30 years; he ignored Admiral Radford, recent Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who said Kennedy's line on off-shore islands was "fantastic" and "could start a war."

Capitol Hill also laughed at opinions of so-called "experts," who fed out to gullible reporters the idea the islands are "indefensible" and "worthless." For "experts" read: "soft-on-communism holdovers from Acheson era." Of course, the Ike Administration must suffer now because it failed to clean out this element when it came in.

Not Merely Gossip: Exciting news about a White House anti-appeasement step is circulating in the Capital.

Last week, US Ambassador Wadsworth delivered a warning that, if the UN voted to admit Red China, the United States might walk out of the UN. The press accurately reported this threat as unprecedented—never before has the US even remotely suggested that it might leave the world organization. What the press did not report was—who gave the orders to take this extraordinary stand.

Obviously, Wadsworth would never have taken the initiative himself to say this. HUMAN EVENTS, after some investigation in Washington, discovered that the State Department "relayed" orders to Wadsworth to make this statement; and that confusion reigned among the Department bureaucrats, because the latter were not in sympathy with the orders.

But they had to relay the orders because they had received them very bluntly and specifically from the White House. Did they originate from the President himself?

HUMAN EVENTS obtained no definite answer. Presumably Ike gave the orders, but whether he made the decision uninfluenced by others remains unclear. There is speculation along Diplomatic Row, however, that candidate Nixon, now intent on running fast with the anti-Communist issue, asked Ike to do so. If this be true, and if Nixon is going to call the signals on foreign policy, then the pace and intensity of the campaign will be sharply stepped up.

Nixon on Connally Reservation: Vice President Nixon, in a surprise move, has made it known that he would replace the controversial Connally Reservation to the World Court with a brand new reservation.

Herbert G. Klein, Nixon's press chief, on October 12 in Los Angeles (A.P. dispatch in the New York *Times*, October 13), said Nixon now believed the Connally Amendment should be replaced by a new reservation that would "safeguard the United States from interference in domestic affairs while encouraging greater participation of the World Court in international affairs."

Hitherto, Nixon has limited himself to backing the White House demand for simple repeal of the Connally Reservation.

This new stand of Nixon was embodied in a letter dated September 19 to Mrs. Benno M. Abraham of Sonora, California, in which he said the Connally Reservation "should be replaced with a new reservation," so phrased that the World Court could not take jurisdiction in disputes "which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States of America or to disputes involving the national security of the United States of America."

This statement (copies of which are being distributed by the Vice President's office, as well as by Senator Barry Goldwater) apparently represents a change in the Nixon thinking. However, experts believe that he has to spell out his proposal in greater detail. Until he has done that, some confusion may reign. For legal experts (who have strongly supported retention of the Connally Reservation) divide on the effectiveness of the Nixon proposal; some say it is unsound, others say it may be quite an improvement.

Ike's Role: Stronger demands arise for a vigorous, hard-hitting campaign by President Eisenhower to elect Nixon, on the morrow of Ike's interview with six Republican ladies. This TV interview included a fine recommendation of the Vice President and will do him no harm. Ike's famous charm suffused the show and put it over. As one observer put it, "Ike's no debater and Adlai Stevenson or Jack Kennedy could outpoint him all the way. But his irresistible personality would give him a popular decision."

But, that's not enough. The Washington *Evening Star* commented editorially the next day: "Mr. Eisenhower, we think, could best help the Republican ticket by going to the country with carefully prepared, hard-hitting statements of the record and achievements of his Administration and the choice for the future, as he sees it, which lies before the voters. At best, it will be difficult for even an enormously popular President to pass on his vote-getting ability to his would-be successor. It will never be done in the synthetic type of question-and-answer show put on last evening."

Pros add one more essential: Ike must take on the role of the "old Nixon," which the VP apparently eschews; he must directly attack the Democratic candidate and his policies.

Rocky: When violence flared recently during the General Electric strike at Schenectady (GE's largest and highly strategic plant), Mayor Malcolm Ellis declared a state of emergency. His 152-man police

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force and deputized fire department were unable to cope with the rash of riots, so he turned to Governor Rockefeller, asking Nelson to send state troopers to restore order.

But Rocky refused to send help, his office stating that "the maintenance of order historically has been the responsibility of local law enforcement officials."

Apparently it is the feeling of Governor Rockefeller that the main function of state troopers is to patrol the highways, etc., rather than spend their excellent training on the primary function of maintaining law and order.

The Great Giveaway: Latest Kennedy gimmick is the "Kennedy Councils" which have opened shop in western and mountain states and may soon appear in other states.

A Kennedy Council is a committee which, in the central city of a region (several counties) invites groups to come before it to tell the needs of their communities—the local projects which local people want, but don't want to pay for.

The committee, after listening gravely, reminds the visitors that Kennedy will be eager to help them; he wants "a better America," and projects like those submitted are what will create "a better America."

Supporters of the community projects nearly always consist of businessmen and property owners—the leadership elements of the Republican party. If they can be led to believe that the projects that would raise property values in their communities won't have to be paid for by the benefitted areas, but instead will be paid for by the Federal government, a vigorous group can be shifted from Republican into Democratic ranks.

Capitol Camera: Senator Kennedy now attacks the Administration on its Cuban policy, but this is what he said on April 3 of this year: "I have supported Eisenhower on two points. One is Cuba, with which I agree."

• *Capital observers warn that Nixon, while making a big come-back, will continue to suffer from his failure in the First Debate (when he was ill). Figures show that 12 million viewers of First match did not watch the Second. The first of any series on TV always gets the big audience, later installments progressively less popular. So, Nixon has a big liability to overcome. Can he do so before November 9?*

Observers enraged by the Debate format. Questions by newsmen slow up and confuse flow of debating. For best effect, Nixon and Kennedy should fire questions at each other (with only a moderator calling time) in two-hour sessions.

• Nixon is being urged to pledge the post of Secretary of State to strongly anti-Communist Congressman Walter Judd (R.-Minn.). Such a move would dramatize the GOP's firm anti-appeasement stand. It would also increase the pressure by Stevenson-ites in the Democratic party on Kennedy to similarly promise Adlai the Secretary of State chair. On this matter, Kennedy is already on a hot spot. A pledge to Judd would make it sizzling hot.

• *What is indeed ironic in this campaign is that Kennedy's biggest supporter—the AFL-CIO—may be the cause of his present foreign policy troubles. It was none other than Edward P. Morgan, the AFL-CIO-sponsored radio and TV commentator, who asked Kennedy the ticklish question as to whether he would defend the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.*

• Although Senator Kennedy has now taken the position that Quemoy and Matsu are indefensible, he supported the joint congressional resolution in 1955 granting the President authority to defend these islands.

• *New York* Times *columnist Arthur Krock notes that Lyndon Johnson is now endorsing the "most extreme equal rights proposal," a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission. Says Krock: "Now that Johnson has specifically endorsed this most drastic legislative and political concept, he has supplied unanticipated evidence that he has no firm convictions in conflict with the most 'liberal' of the Democratic platform equal rights pledges."*

• Kennedy stated in his second television debate: "Of course, Mr. Nixon is wholly inaccurate when he says the Congress has not provided more funds, in fact, than the President recommended for national defense." The facts: In their six years of congressional control, the Democrats provided $1.7 billion LESS than was requested by President Eisenhower.

• *Postmaster General Summerfield last week called Kennedy a "tool" of organized labor, and added, "Walter Reuther would have a new captive if he [Kennedy] is elected—this time in the White House instead of the State House at Lansing." Summerfield had reference to Michigan's Governor "Soapy" Williams. "As a result of their alliance [Reuther and Williams]," the Postmaster pointed out, "Michigan has been brought to a point where it has difficulty meeting the state payroll."*

• The Civic Affairs Associates, publishers of the Free Citizens Voting Record, confirm that neither Kennedy nor Johnson cast a single key conservative vote in the last session of Congress.

• *Yugoslav Communist dictator Tito, now being boomed as a leader of the "neutralist bloc," has launched a new drive against Catholics in his country. First target is Father Mijo Skvorc, well known preacher in the capital of Croatia. He has been imprisoned in the past by the Reds, is now ready to stand trial "for a hostile attitude toward the State, toward the social order of the Federal*

HON. L. C. ARENDS, Member of Congress from Illinois: "HUMAN EVENTS is extremely invaluable, getting inside the developments in Washington. It is a thought-provoking publication, dedicated to the basic principles on which our government was founded."

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People's Republic of Yugoslavia and her ideological and political foundations."

• Kennedy's soft attitude is no surprise to those who have watched the heightened trend in those directions by left-wing parties all around the globe. The recent Labor Party Conference in Great Britain cast a majority in favor of Britain's withdrawal from NATO, getting the US forces out of Great Britain and disarmament by Britain alone if it could not be achieved in concert with all the powers. Gaitskell, Labor party leader, who opposed these resolutions, was not ousted, but his position remains uncertain.

• *The Supreme Court is to rule this year on the Internal Security Act of* 1950, *specifically on whether the Communist Party, USA, is or is not a Communist action group. Legal minds concerned with the High Court's tendency to break down the internal security system fear the Court might "do it again," and rule for the CPUSA.*

• South Carolina's Democratic Senator J. Strom Thurmond, a highly decorated World War II combat veteran who recently returned from Japan and Formosa, followed fellow Democratic Senator Frank Lausche last week in backing Nixon on the Quemoy-Matsu question. Said Thurmond: "I am more convinced than ever that the islands of Quemoy and Matsu are vital to the defense of Free China, a nation to which we have obligated ourselves by treaty to defend against aggression."

Quemoy and Matsu: Where Senator John F. Kennedy gets his "military" information is not known, but there are a number of *bona fide* military experts who clearly disagree with Senator Kennedy's statement that Quemoy and Matsu are "strategically indefensible." Among those who oppose Senator Kennedy's strategic wisdom are: the late Admiral Ernest King, General Douglas MacArthur, General Albert Wedemeyer, Admiral Arthur W. Radford and Admiral Charles Cooke. All these men were top ranking officers in the Far Eastern theatre during and after World War II, and it is doubtful that Senator Kennedy's advisers have any better credentials.

What is more, Admiral Cooke, who served as chief strategic adviser to Admiral Ernest King during World War II and who commanded the Seventh Fleet when Truman was President, was so appalled by Kennedy's statement that he has written a letter to Nixon vigorously upholding the VP's stand on defending these offshore islands.

In his letter, Cooke derides Kennedy as the "apostle of receding containment," and then issues a withering blast at the Democratic nominee:

> **"There is no doubt in my mind," says Cooke, "that if Senator Kennedy becomes the President of the United States, the probability of loss of all of East Asia and the Western Pacific to the United States and to the Free World will become much greater, to the extent of being likely."**

Religious Issue: Democratic National Chairman Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson stated in Indiana last week that the religious issue had "passed its peak." Most newsmen agreed, but not a few Republicans suspect the Democrats of keeping the issue alive, in their own way and for all its worth. Columnist David Lawrence voiced these suspicions forcefully last week.

The Democratic National Committee is making widespread use on local TV of Kennedy's meeting with Protestant ministers in Houston in which he stated his separation of church and state theories. Many feel the film is being used widely in Northern areas with large Catholic concentrations to work up sympathy for Kennedy. Lyndon Johnson stated last week that bigots were at work on his running mate, but most realize that the "Rum, Romanism and Riot Hooligans" lunatic fringe literature must hurt the GOP ticket appreciably more than the Democratic.

New York Daily *News* political writer Jim Desmond wrote in a special *Newsweek* report: "The Democrats are quietly telling minorities that if bigotry can veto a Catholic President, it can also hurt them. The argument seems to be effective."

Red Film Comeback?: The manner in which the public receives the newly released movie "Spartacus" will be watched by those concerned with the open return of Communist-cited writers to the movie industry.

Recently premiered in New York, the film is about a mythical Roman slave named Spartacus who led a rebellion against the Empire. He has long been held up by the Kremlin as an example of the proletariat's struggle with capitalism. The screenplay was by Dalton Trumbo, who was repeatedly named under oath in House Un-American Activities Committee hearings as a Communist and who repeatedly pleaded the First Amendment when asked if he were a Communist. He served a jail term for contempt of Congress.

The *American Legion Magazine* recently warned: If "Spartacus" and other films employing unrepentent First Amendment Reds "go over big at the box office, the Waldorf Declaration [a movie industry agreement not to hire known Communists] will be broken and Hollywood will be open to a repeat performance of the horrible nightmare of Communist infestation of the 1930's and 1940's—a spectre that no responsible heads of the industry would want back to haunt them."

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